7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

as *ahaga* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahunek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tamut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *érit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

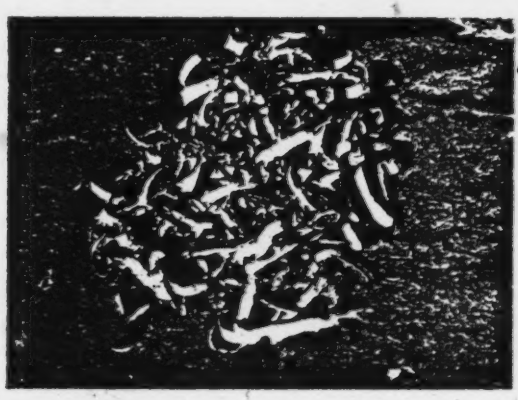

Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*tibei*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

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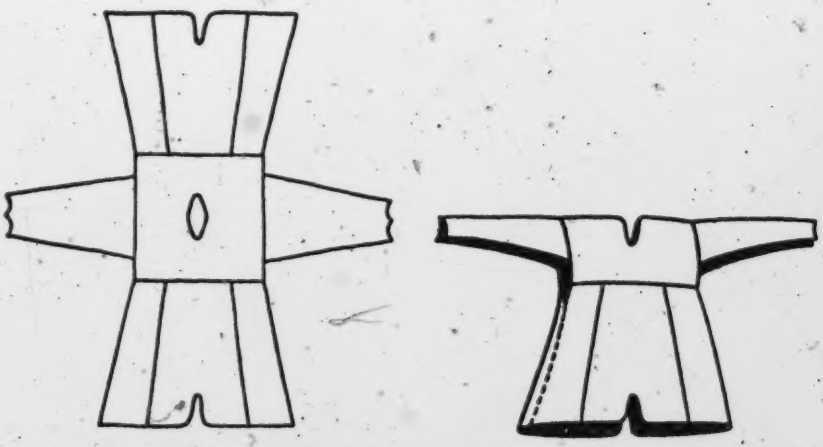

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetik*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ineṛ* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isəkkəmaren* who use skins of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetik*, and is described as follows:—

"Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine, avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnant ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Ineṛ* tribe (*Isəkkəmaren*). It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

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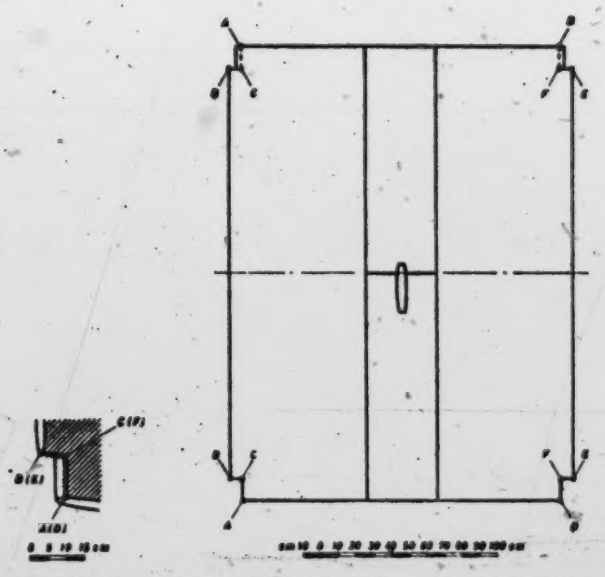

Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Tørwrit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Tørwrit* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*aserbes*). Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*tagulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Élézi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce. 291

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided 291 294

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *kreid*. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Aheggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576 606] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

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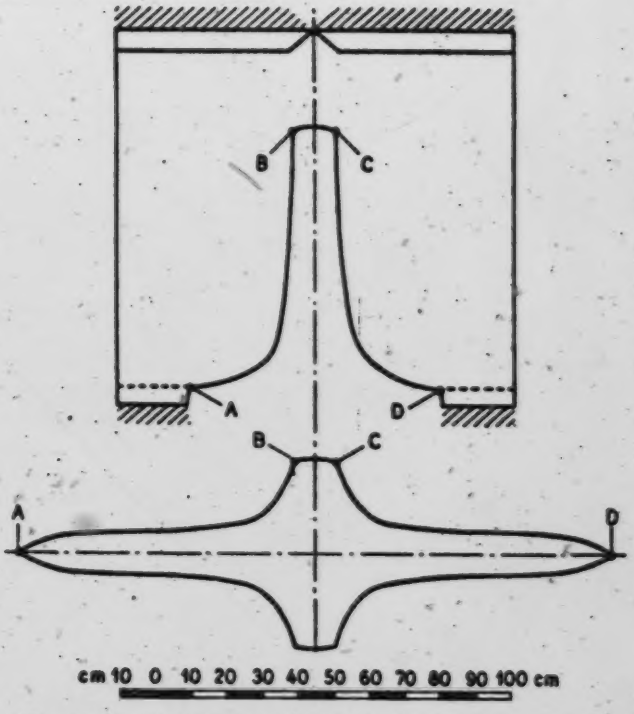

Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*tkerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamenault*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 292 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *iheyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *techerbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arfaf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehi* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description [587] of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [594] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [587] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *ekwaite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occ[illegible] of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tafemia* (sing. *taflimt*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

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l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tǝrǝtimen* (sing. *tǝrǝtim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takalmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *shisleplaine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

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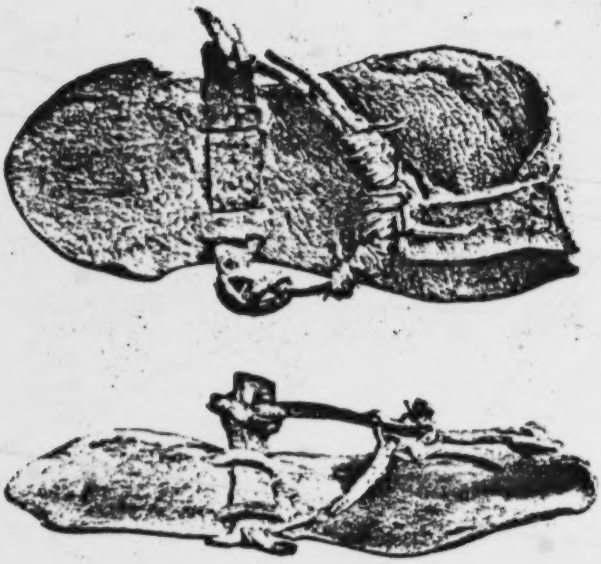

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tegliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *ératim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[462] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [237] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 603). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tifedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of